Conditions for the development of European nationalism, e.g. the French Revolution, the Napoleonic

legacy, impact of social and economic changes, Romanticism, Liberalism, Darwinism

French revolution:

* French armies spread revolutionary ideas
* Established representative government, created republics, abolished privilege, seized church lands and reformed structures in general
* Ideological impact:
  + Sovereignty of the people
  + Equality before the law
  + Freedom from arbitrary interest
  + Freedom of speech and association
  + Careers open to talent
  + Rights of man and the citizen
  + Democratic republicanism
* Reaction: conservatism, republicanism synonymous with Jacobin and the terror
* Established institutions of monarchy, aristocracy and church were opposed to changes
* Metternich was staunchly reactionary
* Liberalism: rights and liberties of individuals, freedom of thought and conscience on all subjects, freedom of action as long as no harm to others, freedom of individuals to unite peacefully
* Socialism: Jacobins were left-wingers, Babeuf’s conspiracy of equals—universal suffrage, liberating oppressed, equality for all, an egalitarian society—socialism, revolutionary ideal of direct action
* Marxism: marx owed debt to Jacobins whose ideas revealed egalitarian ideas, feudalism would be replaced by bourgeois capitalism, then socialism and finally communist state
* Nationalism: revolutionary leaders set out to create unified nation, getting rid of provincial privileges, internal customs duties and different systems of law and sovereignty—united nation, symbols of tricolore, marseillaise, national army, national guards—elan of la patrie en danger

Napoleon:

* Occupied and annexed countries meant nationalist feeling
* Republics constructed: Kingdom of Italy, Batavian, helvetican, ligurian, roman, confederation of the rhine
* Centralized administration under French model
* Removal of privileges, feudalism, guilds, etc

Italian Nationalism: conditions in Italy and the 1848 Revolutions; the contributions of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi; unification up to 1871

Napoleon impact:

* French attacked Piedmont-Sardinia 1792, later 1796 Napoleon took over whole peninsula (1805 king of Italy), simplified political boundaries—four separate republics in 1798, three in 1810
* One-third annexed to france (north-west portion of Italy: piedmont, central duchies, papal states)
* Kingdom of Italy: Lombardy, Modena, Bologna, Romagna, Ferrara—stepson ruled as viceroy
* Kingdom of Naples (minus sicily, which was ruled by Britain)
* Church lands sold off in large lots to wealthy merchants (became landed gentry) and nobility
* External customs barriers simplified, internal trade barriers swept away, standardization of weights and measures, tax collection reorganized, better roads and transport, code napoleon, new local gov districts, industry encouraged, 2 chamber representative gov in each state

Restoration:

* Piedmont back to King (Victor Emmanuel I, then Charles Albert, then V.E. II), included savoy and genoa
* Lombardy and venetia joined under austrian viceroy
* Tuscany, Modena and parma under austrian-appointed local rulers
* Papal states under pope
* Ferdinand restored to naples and sicily, but Austrian influence clear
* Piedmont removed code napoleon, privileges for nobility restored, old customs barriers reintroduced, education back to roman catholic church
* Modena—habsburg duke Francis IV replaced government officers with nobility members, hated liberals but quarreled with Austria over confinement to small duchy of Modena
* Papal states had inquisition—religious persecution and conservatism
* Kingdom of two sicilies—bourbon king Ferdinand cancelled Sicilian constitution of 1812, oppressive, cruel, reactionary

Political trends:

* Main aims: overthrow restored monarchy, get rid of Austrians
* Lack of overall organization, spatial and ideological unity
* Carbonari—particularly active in naples, and southern Italy, secret society, mostly constitutional monarchists
* Mazzini: brotherhood of people, but stress on nationalism, unification of Italy—whole peninsula to be independent with one central gov and locally elected authorities, democracy, individual rights, avoid foreign help especially from france, unification from below, but if monarchs prepared to fight against Austrian domination, supported them too, greater equality, end to poverty, taxation proportional to wealth, free and compulsory education
* Mazzini asked Charles albert to be leader of revolution in 1831
* Young Italy founded 1831—one free independent republican nation, campaigning and insurrection, national awareness—naples 1832, mutiny in piedmontese army, rising in savoy, attempted coup in Piedmont, general failure
* But propaganda campaign—converted many to the cause (garibaldi)
* President of Rome 1849
* Too intellectual, however, and too radical for middle class—absent from Italy for total 40 years, lost touch with actual situation
* Balbo—moderate piedmontese nationalist, only piedmont strong enough to drive out Austria, Charles albert future king of Italy, but some wanted only northern half of peninsula
* Gioberti—pope, new hope with Pius IX—freed 2000 political prisoners, reformed edu, law and papal administration, gave laymen greater share in pub affairs, ended press censorship, Consulta (elected body to advise pope), allowed jews out of ghetto

1848-9

* Harvests failed 1846-7, problems in town and country, shortages of wheat and maize, high prices, wages remained low
* Pope’s reforms set example for others
* Piedmont and Tuscany abolished press censorship, joint customs union envisioned with papal states, Metternich strengthened Austrian garrison and made treaties with Modena and parma
* First revolutions: sicily, under Ferdinand II—period of repression coincided with outbreak of cholera, arms handed out to people in Palermo, sicily, peasants arrived from countryside, Neapolitan army shelled city—revolutionaries took over city, demanded restoration of const of 1812, compromise offered, refused
* Revolutionaries took over most of island, provisional gov under mid class moderates, civic guard formed to control ‘masses’—mid class trepidation about peasants marching on towns and villages, destroying property, freeing prisoners, burning tax collection records. Parliament elected, declared separation and independence of Sicily
* Revolution spread to naples, huge demonstration demanded const, king agreed to 2 chamber parl with limited powers, national guard, abolish censorship, but peasant grievances over right to use common land continued—repressed by ferdinand’s troops
* September 1848 gov able to retake sicily after intense bombardment—spring 1849 reunification, abolished, parl and police state in place
* Grand duke of Tuscany and Piedmont promised const, but Modena and parma rulers had to flee
* Milan, Lombardy—tobacco boycott, escalated into riots, Five days of Milan forced radetzky to withdraw
* Metternich’s fall had politicized revolution—prov gov set up, but had to turn to piedmont for military aid
* Milanese leaders not clear on policy—military strategy was in hands of radical council of war, but moderate patricians began to fear republicanism—they only wanted Austria out, but radicals saw Milanese campaign as path to Italian republic, however influence of patricians couldn’t be challenged so discussion of constitution and ideological issues postponed till final victory
* Patricians turned to piedmont
* Charles albert uncertain—prospect of republican victory in Milan alarming, but couldn’t risk undermining both position of Milanese moderates and his own power—plus had interests in annexing Lombardy and venetia, political hegemony in northern italy
* In return for help, demanded annexation of Lombardy—led to debate and delay while vote was carried out
* Venetia—manin released from prison, Austrian troops unruly so withdrawn, Republic of St. Mark—manin reluctant to rely on piedmont but had to—without military assistance, Austria would crush them, so agreed to piedmont union
* Piedmont’s objectives being achieved, motivation low plus Austrians had had time to regroup with more supplies under greater strategic strength of radetzky—charles albert defeated in custoza, but forced to launch second initiative, failed again at novara
* Pope’s allocution: refused war against catholic Austria
* Roman republic: count rossi murdered nov 1848, rioting followed, pope fled, new republic formed, abolished tax on grinding corn, provided public building work for unemployed, constituent to be elected—end to temporal power proclaimed, Mazzini elected as head of triumvirate, reforms implemented, but pope appealed to france, naples and spain—france responded, invaded rome
* Venetian republic of st. mark held out courageously against siege but eventually fell because of shelling and severe outbreak of cholera—no help from rest of Italy, starvation
* Grand duke of Tuscany had sent out troops to piedmont, but workers agitated about pay conditions and mid class radicals preached republicanism, duke left jan 1849, but Charles albert defeated at Novara, Austrian army swept down into Tuscany and grand duke returned
* Similarly Modena and parma rulers reinstated by Austrian army
* Charles albert stepped down, but statuto remained
* Refugees flocked to piedmont—200,000 in turin and genoa, cosmopolitan air
* Statuto had two chamber state, but lower chamber elected based on literacy and taxes—2.5% of piedmont
* Promised legal equality and equal employment opportunities

Cavour:

* 1846 helped set up bank of turin
* 1847 new free press allowed Il Risorgimento to be published
* 1850 agri, commerce and navy minister
* Free trade treaties with Britain, france, Belgium and even Austria
* 1851 minister of finance after getting new gov loan for railway
* Pm in 1852
* Trade increased by 300% in 1850s, industries flourished, railway expanded to 800 km by 1860
* Crimean war 1854-6, Cavour supported Britain and france to secure spoils and get seat at peace conference, but evidence is ambiguous—cavour swayed by king, Britain and france who put pressure on him
* At any rate got seat at peace conference 1856, special meeting at plombieres in 1858 with Louis napoleon
* Agreed on war against Austria if Austria made to aggress
* Upper Italy would be under piedmont, rome left to pope, papal states and Tuscany would form kingdom of central Italy, Neapolitan frontier unchanged, new four Italian states would form confederation under pope’s presidency—france would gain savoy and nice
* 200,000 french troops+100,000 piedmontese troops
* Provisional agreement of marriage alliance—VE’s daughter and one of N’s cousins
* Secret treaty finalized 1859 Jan, idea of pope figurehead and confederation abandoned
* 1859 nationalist anti-austrian feelings incited, VE gave emotional speech on grido di dolore, mobilized army in march, Austrians mobilized large army in north Italy and couldn’t afford to keep it mobilized so demanded demob of piedmont—sent ultimatum
* War declared april 1859
* Austria defeated at solferino and magenta, enormous losses, understocked forces
* Napoleon chickened out, made unilateral agreement—piedmont would receive Lombardy, previous rulers of Tuscany, Modena and parma to be restored, Austria kept venetia
* Cavour resigned in rage, but Tuscany had rigged assembly voting for annexation by piedmont, Modena, parma and romagna, provisional pro-piedmontese govs in each, armistice of villafranca developed into peace converence
* Tuscany and Emilia (parma+Modena+Romagna) annexed, nice and savoy to france

• German Nationalism: the 1848 Revolutions; Prussia, Bismarck and unification in 1871; relations with

other European states to c. 1900

German working class movement:

* Political clubs for working men Berlin, Breslau, cologne, economic crisis supported them
* New freedom of association—trade unions multiplied
* Central org: APRIL CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF WORKING MEN berlin, imitated in hamburg, Leipzig, appealed for support of all working class communities
* Artisans formed class org—meetings held, petitions against free enterprise, PREPARATORY CONGRESS hamburg (JUNE) convoked SOCIAL PARL, held sittings in Frankfurt, CHARTER FOR ARTISANS
* Demanded org of trade based on obligatory membership of corporations, provincial chambers and gen chamber for all trades of germany, required that number of trades limited, priv restored to masters
* Delegates and petitions particularly from textile centers Silesia, brandenburg, Westphalia—return to medieval system vaunted
* Factory workers arranged GENERAL CONGRESS OF WORKERS at Frankfurt, august, attended by 300 trade union delegates, inc Viennese, Hungarians, bohemians—workmen’s league should be founded and soc prob solved by workers
* Hence working class rep independent of pol bodies, but weakened by two types of ind economy division
* Movement brought dual claim to Frankfurt parl, but credit compromised by connection with rev idea—socialists couldn’t think of social rev without pol rev, COMMUNIST GROUP in COLOGNE (JUNE), sought to spur working class towards goal
* Bourgeois parl of Frankfurt vs congress of dem committees under socialist pres, dem rep and fraternity of all peoples
* Local gov and fed gov suppressed pop agitation—berlin in june, Silesia in july, Frankfurt and west in mid sept, Frankfurt parl ignored program of workers and artisans
* Popular support for grossdeutsch idea including Austria and under her leadership organized by the reform association (reformverein) founded in Munich October 1862 to counteract pro-prussian Kleindeutsche nationalverein
* By summer 1863 various influences favouring positive Austrian policy in germany led emperor to propose congress of princes at Frankfurt to discuss Austrian suggestions for the reform of the confederation
* Hopes of south German liberals were high, yet there were difficulties with Austria satisfying popular demands—austria had many minority groups clamouring for self-determination
* Frankfurt congress of princes failed because king William I whose assent was needed for reform of confederation was absent
* Bismarck had taken up office determined to assert prussia’s right to be treated as a great power and equal of Austria
* But he was ready to cooperate with Austria provided prussia’s position as paramount power in at least north and central germany was recognized
* Bismarck realized that differences between the German states might provide the occasion for a European crisis and especially for French intervention
* One of his first diplomatic acts was to make sure he could count on goodwill of Russia (questionable—did he really plan it, or was he afraid of German polish minority?)
* January 1963 russian Poland revolt, Bismarck offered practical help agreeing for exchange of information about polish activities and promises of armed help if necessary and permission to chase fugitives inside Prussian territory—liberal reaction in Prussian diet hugely hostile, Austria and france publicly condemned actions of russia and prussia, so bismarck denied importance of alvensleben agreement as agreement not formally signed—russia pissed off but more upset by austrian condemnation of russia’s attack on poles and her lack of support in the Crimean War
* Anyway, Bismarck persuaded Kaiser not to attend princes’ congress, so Austrian reform plan was doomed, popular support of south German liberals was soon lost, after 1863 austrian cause had little positive appeal.
* Bismarck immediately attempted to capture popular support by his counter-proposals—division of power between Austria and Prussia and establishment of a true national representation based on the direct participation of the whole nation
* Governments of the small states unready for such a radical measure

Franco-Prussian free-trade treaty ratified month before Bismarck assumed office, linked the customs union with france and Britain and created a ‘trading empire’ vastly superior to anything Austria could have

Austria categorically demanded accession to customs union 1865 when trade treaty of 1853 would expire, but Prussia insisted all members of the customs union must accept the French treaty and the link with that country and Britain—austria could not compete economically while its government was immersed in rudderless constitutional experiments and so lost struggle. Customs union states accepted French treaty, Austria outmanoeuvred by 1851 Hanover’s accession to zollverein and in 1862 French trade treaty

1866  January: renewal of Zollverein on low tariff basis which ensures continued   
         exclusion of Austria-Hungary.

• Significance of the development of nationalism for Europe.

1848 not really revolutions of masses, leaders and instigators were intellectuals devoid of pol experience not men of action, extremist ideas and policies imbued with idealism, took little account of facts, bourgeouis in origin—aristocracy broke with liberalism after french rev. French intellectuals: benjamin constant, doctrinaires, lamennais (lib catholicism) influenced rhineland and bavaria, messianic republicanism that france had mission and duty to sustain andspread liberty and nationality throughout europe. (french) Republicans—demanded universal suffrage, ministry answerable to parl, absolute freedom of press and association, compulsory education and income tax. But social democrats (la reforme) also proposed social reforms—organization of labor, establishment of producers’ cooperatives and associations, nationalization of principal industries inc insurance and railways

European liberals had simpler program: guarantee of freedom of individual, reform of legal procedure, introduction of jury, freedom of press, representative assembly, national guard, abolition of confessional state and of the police regime. Some radicals wanted representatives of the people with full constituent powers and proclaimed idea of brotherhood of man.

Nationalities: french conception saw nation as spiritual community formed by voluntary association of free men, german idea was romantic and historical—saw nation as a natural, primitive organism, endowed with specific genius with language, customs and history. French linked with idea of political liberty, german inspired will to power by maybe non-liberal means. Hence germans had separation of nationalism and liberalism

Social problems: restriction of landed property to the nobility, limitation of personal and property rights, maintenance of tithes and forced labor service, Germany in general introduction of sugar-beet and agricultural machinery had sharpened competitive struggle between great landowners and peasantry. Growth of population aggravated peasant’s plight and forced industry to supplement income, but industry still mainly represented by scattered craftsmen—england alone had industrial revolution.

In continent, ind concentrations only in few places—germany (rhineland, saxony, silesia and berlin), Lombardy in italy (sort of), agglomerations of proletariat were exceptional, but situation was deplorable—lost protection of old corporate state (guilds) but couldn’t benefit yet from numbers and organization, ‘socialist’ remedies by theorists (apart from Proudhon and some germann communists) were bourgeois intellectuals without precision or knowledge of economics.

Agricultural crisis of 1846, financial crisis of early 1847 (checked investment and dried up credit for whole year), industrial crisis and accompanying distress in autumn, demands of serfs and unemployed workers for social reform

French rev: Paris Feb revolution: campaign against regime through democratic banquets, popular procession to accompany guests to final banquet held by parl opposition, gov banned meeting, but demonstration went forth, bloody encounter btwn mob and troops outside min of foreign affairs—raised suburbs and armed people by urging raids of gunsmiths shops and mairies, paris in revolt by the 24th

Obliged new gov to proclaim republic, social direction by promise to ensure all working men to get living from work and guaranteed employment to all citizens: Gov comission for workmen formed, working day reduced by 1.5h, republic improvised based on univ suffrage, absolute freedom of press and association, abolition of death penalty for pol offences, slavery and debtor’s prison

Republic of social experiment—workmen’s trade unions, national workships to occupy unemployed in paris and principe cities, labour commissions in every dept and in paris employers’ reps, workmen’s reps, economists of every school—org of labor into virtual parl

But economic crisis worsened: panic ensued, bank deposits withdrawn, bourse slumped, credit stopped, workshops and factories shut, treasury exhausted, bank of france threatened with liquidation, moratorium declared on all bills, discount banks established tot deal in commercial stocks and advance loans on goods, nine dept banks absorbed into bank of france which assumed monopoly ofissuing paper money, financial and economic crisis paralyzed gov initiative

In Italy the Paris Revolution justified and strengthened the process

that was already under way, without setting new forces in motion (cf.

ch. xxi, p. 562). In Piedmont the *Statuto* was promulgated on 5 March.

The pope appointed a ministry with a lay majority on 11 March and

granted a constitution on the 15th. These two constitutions, like those

of Tuscany and Naples, represented a practical application of *doctrinaire*

ideas and an adaptation of Louis Philippe's charter; nowhere did the

masses intervene and nowhere did the reforms attain to democracy. In

western Germany, from 1 to 12 March, following the example of the

Grand Duchy of Baden, manifestations by bourgeois belonging both to

the intelligentsia and the business world, coupled with great gatherings

in the streets, led to the formation of parliamentary ministries and the

concession of certain rights—in Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Kassel, Nassau,

Frankfurt, Wurttemberg, Brunswick and Thuringia. In the Hanseatic

towns of the north peaceful revolutions turned the patrician regimes into

democratic republics. In the Prussian Rhineland and Westphalia a vast

petition was organised for representative institutions, and the bourgeoisie

seized control of the municipalities and formed National Guards. Thus

the contrast was sharpened between western Germany and the rest of the

country. An apparent revival of the Peasants' Revolt, however, started

a rising in the Neckar valley, the Black Forest and Odenwald—a splutter

of age-old hatred and suffering, quickly suppressed by regular troops.

Lastly, the question of national unity became so urgent that the Diet

itself and the governments of Prussia, Bavaria and Wurttemberg, in late

February and early March, began to consider a reform of the Confederation.

On the initiative of a few liberals, some fifty politicians and writers

met on 5 March in Heidelberg. They launched an appeal for the formation

of a body representing all Germany, and a delegation of seven of them

convoked everyone who had ever sat in a Diet or Chamber in order to fix

an electoral law in a preparatory assembly. In all these movements in

Italy and Germany there was no show of violence (apart from the peasant

rising in the Neckar valley); they owed their success to the unanimous

support of public opinion, their simultaneity, and the unreasoning fear

of their governments, which were taken by surprise.

The moral effect was none the less immense. The fall of Metternich's

regime entailed the immediate collapse of Austrian hegemony in Italy

and the end of absolute monarchy in Prussia (cf. ch. xxi, pp. 562-3).

As soon as news arrived, late on the 17th, of what had happened in

Vienna, there was an outburst of fierce hatred against the Germans in

Milan. Overriding all efforts at compromise, displaying a boldness that

verged on folly, the people, despite their lack of arms, managed with the

help of the neighbouring towns to drive out Radetzky and the Austrian

garrison in five days of furious fighting. While the garrison took refuge on

31 March in the Quadrilateral, a provisional government took over the

administration of Lombardy. Venice achieved its liberation with less

effort: released from prison by the mob, Manin gave heart to his people

by recalling the republic of St Mark, and secured by intimidation the

surrender of the arsenal, the departure of the fleet and the capitulation

of the governor. In a few days all the cities of Venetia, like those of

Lombardy, had driven out the troops. On 21 and 26 March the three

duchies similarly effected their liberation.

In the great industrial city of Berlin, where there was a serious wave of

unemployment, the news from Vienna arrived on the 16th and provoked

an agitation that grew swiftly in size as it was countered by military

precautions. The brutality of the soldiery turned it into an insurrection

on the 18th. Here the movement was spontaneous and violent. Rising

against the army, the people seized control of the city and forced the king

into humiliating surrenders, wringing from him successive political concessions

by which he sought to assuage their anger. First he granted

freedom of the press and the convocation of the Landtag, then the right

of the Landtag to fashion an electoral law, then the principle of ministerial

responsibility and the formation of a 'Rhine ministry' of liberals.

His attempts to divert attention towards German unity succeeded only

in committing him to a path along which he would be led much farther

than he wished. Berlin's example provoked a burst of liberalism in all

the towns of Prussia and a series of bloodless revolutions in all the monarchies

of central Germany, Saxony and Hanover, from 17 to 30 March.

At the same time a further step towards radicalism was marked by the

emergence in western Germany of a republican party which, because of

unemployment, gained support among the working class and expressed

itself in a kind of municipal anarchy

Yet by summer 1848 the tide had already begun to ebb. Though remaining

liberal, Europe repudiated socialism and disorder. Here, too,

it took its example from France. For in France the social experiment had

been a disappointment and the advanced parties had shown themselves

rash and maladroit. The Constituent Assembly, which met for the first

time on 5 May, reorganised the government, entrusting executive power

to a commission which appointed to its ministries men of the provisional

government excluding the socialists. The socialists, angry at losing all

share in power and relying on the clubs and the Workers' Committee

from the Luxembourg, attempted a second revolution by a sudden attack

on the Assembly on 15 May. They failed and were obliged to relinquish

what posts they still held, such as the Prefecture of Police. Their leaders,

Raspail, Blanqui, Barbes, Albert, were arrested. By this attack on national

sovereignty democratic ideas themselves forfeited some credit. The persistent

economic and financial crisis paralysed any democratic reform of

taxes and the measures of nationalisation planned by Gamier-Pages; it

brought to nothing the trade unions and thwarted the national workshops,

fimile Thomas, the director of the latter, had introduced welfare services

and a club for civic education, and wished to incorporate the workshops

into a vast scheme of industrial planning. But they had been disproportionately

swollen by the growing number of unemployed and the continual

influx of provincials. The total of workmen exceeded 115,000. There was

insufficient work in Paris for a labour force of this size, and idleness led

to demoralisation. Either the labour schemes were useless like those of

the Minister of Public Works, or they demanded too lengthy preliminary

study like those of the Department of Roads and Bridges (Ponts et Chaussees),

or they raised political problems like Garnier-Pages' repurchase

of the railways. The Assembly grew uneasy at the heavy, futile expense.

Moreover, the revolutionary parties looked to the workshops for an army,

the lack of which had led to the fiasco of 15 May, and subversive propaganda

of all kinds began to circulate. The conservatives, and the deputies

who were opposed in principle to radical solutions for social problems,

found it easy to denounce the danger; the government itself took alarm.

It was planned to purge the workshops by sending home the provincials

who had been improperly enrolled, and to reduce the number of workers

in Paris by sending many of them to departments where great work-yards

could be opened, as in Sologne. An attempt was made to select names

and to form them into the necessary groups; but when, on 21 June, the

young workers were informed that they must either leave for the provinces

or, if they preferred, join the army, but that in any case they were

dismissed from the workshops, the result was that revolt broke out the

next day. It was a revolt not so much of men from the workshops (for the

majority stood aloof), but of the mass of Parisian workers who were

fighting for their ideal of a social republic and the organisation of labour and, of course, of all the revolutionary elements. The civil war, conducted

with relentless cruelty on either side, lasted from 22 to 26 June; the

number of dead, though certainly large, cannot be computed. The repressive

measures that followed involved the arrest, deportation or imprisonment

of many thousands. Because of the crisis, all powers had necessarily

been concentrated in the hands of General Cavaignac, and there was no

return to the easy-going government that France had known before the

'June Days'. The executive power was reconstituted in the form of a

President of the Council responsible to the Assembly. He closed down

the clubs and the revolutionary papers and purged the civil service. The

provinces, which had everywhere hastened to support the army of the

forces of order, were relieved to feel themselves once more in the hands

of a firm government.

The effect on Europe was tremendous. France's example had spurred

on the social movement in industrial countries; now the victory of

authority decided governments everywhere to attempt a reaction. In

Germany the working-class movement had assumed many guises. Its first

and most natural expression lay in the formation of political clubs for

working men in Berlin, Breslau and Cologne; as the economic crisis

deepened, their fortunes throve. Moreover, thanks to the new freedom

of association, trade unions multiplied rapidly, and the idea of forming

a central organisation occurred to some of their members; on 19 April

the Central Committee of Working Men was founded in Berlin; imitated

in Hamburg and Leipzig, it had as its mouthpiece the *Sozialpolitische*

*Zeitung;* it appealed for the support of all working-class communities

and it organised meetings. A far more original step was the

attempt—curiously enough first made by artisans—to form a class

organisation. As a result of an appeal which the working men's corporations

of Leipzig launched on 22 April, meetings were held far and wide,

issuing petitions against free enterprise. Then a Preparatory Congress in

Hamburg (2-6 June) convoked a 'Social Parliament', which held sittings

in Frankfurt from 15 July to 5 August and drew up a ' Charter for Artisans'.

It demanded the organisation of trades on the basis of obligatory membership

of corporations, with provincial Chambers and a general Chamber

for all the trades of Germany; it also required that the number of trades

should be limited and that privileges should be restored to the masters.

Delegates and petitions came particularly from the textile centres of Silesia,

Brandenburg and Westphalia. As a counterblast to this method of

organising labour by returning to the medieval system, the factory workers

in their turn arranged a 'General Congress of Workers' at Frankfurt in

August, attended by 300 trade-union delegates, including Viennese,

Hungarians and Bohemians. They adopted the principle that a workmen's

league should be founded and that the social problem should be solved

by the workers themselves. In this way the working class achieved repre- sentation independently of the political bodies, but this representation

was characterised, and therefore weakened, by the two types of industrial

economy into which Germany was divided. Moreover, just when the

movement brought its dual claim before the Frankfurt Parliament, the

credit of the working-class movement was compromised in the eyes of

the Parliament by its connection, through another branch of the movement,

with the revolutionary idea. As in France, the socialists, theorists

and men of action could not conceive of the possibility of a social revolution

without the accompaniment of a political revolution, and the communist

group in Cologne in particular, which founded the *Neue Rheinische*

*Zeitung* in June, sought to spur the working class on towards this goal.

Against the bourgeois Parliament of Frankfurt a congress of the democratic

committees that had been formed for the elections was set up

under the presidency of a socialist. On 14 June it assembled 234 delegates

from 66 towns, establishing a hierarchy of local committees and provincial

congresses, with a central committee and a general congress set above

them. Its programme entailed a democratic republic to ensure universal

happiness, and the fraternity of all peoples. But authority no longer went

in fear and trembling. Everywhere the local governments and the federal

government suppressed popular agitation, in Berlin in June, in Silesia

in July, and above all in Frankfurt and the west in the middle of September.

As for the Frankfurt Parliament, it ignored the programmes of these

proletarians and artisans.

Italy:

* Steady decay of national mvmt, ALLOCUTION APRIL POPE, enthusiasm of volunteers vs apathy of country people, inertia of authorities who didn’t supply them and semi-hostility of piedmont army which didn’t use them and abandoned them to local operations in which they gradually ceded venetian territory before tech superiority of Austrians
* Lost heart and deserted
* Charles albert, mediocre strategist, private ambitions—neclected suggestions for military alliance, obstained vote of local pop for annexation in june to piedmont, he remained motionless while radetzky reorganized troops
* CUSTOZA defeat, Milan abandoned, armistice evacuated Lombardy, venetia and duchies
* Venice blockaded but held out
* Lombardy-venetia under radetzky, ferrara occupied
* Naples king (Ferdinand II) profited—prorogued new chamber on JUNE 15, until street-fighting with neapolitan workers should let him (in SEPTEMBER) to restore power to army and purged civil service
* Domain of pol liberty shrank to central Italy and piedmont